

A Proper



R E P L Y

To a late

Scurrilous LIBEL,

Entitled, SEDITION and DEFACTION
Display'd.

Dear S I R,



HAVE hitherto declined taking any Notice of those pretty Declamations, with which you have been lately pleased to oblige the Publick; and look'd upon them only as little Flights or Exercitations of a Genius, which had a Mind to try its Strength in Politicks. I compar'd them to the *Disputations* of Undergraduates in the University, or the *Mootings* of young Students at the *Temple*. I could not suppose that you published them with any other Design; and therefore was sorry to see you turn'd into such high Ridicule, and expos'd to the Laughter of the Town. I thought it beneath any Writer, of Years and Experience, to set his Strength against a young Beginner, and was afraid it would discourage you from pursuing your Studies; but since I find Correction hath had a different Effect upon you, and made you imagine that you are really an Author of some Importance, I am inclined to give you a little grave Advice.

When you first launched forth into Print, We were somewhat at a Loss to guess what nice Hand had taken the Trouble of collecting such curious *Florilegia* of *Politicks* together. Some Persons assured me, that They were the Compositions of a promising young Gentleman of *Eton School*, whose Father had a little Employment under the Government, and having observed
that

that some *Boyish Writers* have lately met with great Encouragement, set his Son this Task, in order to recommend Him to Favour. The little quaint *Antitheses*, the labour'd Gingle of the Periods, the great Variety of rhetorical Flourishes, affected Metaphors, and puerile Witticisms; with which these *political Nofegays* abound, inclined me at first to believe They were gather'd in this Garden; and I had some Thoughts of employing my Nephew *Geoffry D'Anvers*, who is now in the third Form of *Westminster School*, to answer Them. But when I read the Character of *Suffolk*, as you apply'd it in your *Sequel* to our present Great Minister, I chang'd my Opinion; for I could not suppose that your *School-Master* would have suffer'd you to abuse his Patron by such an ill-judg'd Parallel; as a *late Writer against you both most cruelly demonstrated,

I was afterwards inform'd that They were the Semplar-works of a forward little *Boarding-School-Miss*; who was ambitious of becoming, one Time or other, a *Maid of Honour*; and indeed some dainty *Virgin Expressions* in those Performances (as the same Writer observes) rendered it far from being improbable.

But at last I was told, in great Confidence, that They were the Products of pretty *Mr. Fainlove*; but let me beg of you, *Mr. D'Anvers*, said He, not to treat the young Gentleman with too much Severity! Look at his Youth and Innocence! He is not made for such rough Encounters. O, by no Means, Sir, said I! ———— What hurt *Mr. Fainlove*? ———— What would the Ladies say? ———— Nay, you know that He is a Lady Himself; or at least such a nice Composition of the two Sexes, that it is difficult to distinguish which is most prædominant. My Friend *Horace* hath described Him much better than I can.

*Quem si Puellarum infereres Choro,
Mirè sagaces falleret Hospites:
Discrimen obscurum, solutis
Crimibus, ambiguoque vultu.*

Ovid and *Ausonius* have likewise described such a pretty Medley of the masculine and feminine Gender in the following Verses.

*Talis erat Cultu Facies, quam dicere verè
Virgineam in Puero, puerilem in Virgine posses.*

OVID.

*Dum dubitat Natura Marem, faceretne Puellam,
Factus es, O pulchre, pene Puella, Puer.*

AUSONIUS.

But thought it would be barbarous to handle such a delicate *Hermaphrodite*, such as pretty, little, *Master-Miss*, in too rough a Manner; yet you must give me Leave, my Dear, to give you a little gentle Correction for your own Good. You have carry'd the Jest a little too far in your last performance, and talk in the Stile of a dirty *Black-guard Boy*. O fye! Master, you should never call Names in a *Declamation*, nor foul your pretty Mouth with such paw Words as *Traytor* and *Villain*. The Dialect of *Billingsgate* is very unbecoming a *Court-Education*, and will destroy all Pretensions to the Character of a *fine Gentleman*, which you have taken so much Pains to acquire, and which you would, I dare say, be almost as loth to lose as your Place, or even another Tooth.

You bespeak the Indulgence of the Publick to this last Excrement of Court-Scandal in a præliminary Libel, intituled, *A Dedication to the Patrons of the Craftsman*; and tell us that, the Mode obliges a Writer in this Way to draw some kind of Characters; and therefore you beg Leave (as you are a Man of Mode) to indulge your Fancy in framing such, as you may judge, perhaps, to be very masterly Pieces of Deformity; but, in my Opinion, you have over-done it, and drawn some glaring Features in full Light, which ought to have been thrown into Shade, for your own Sake. You should never talk, my Dear, of *Baseness*, *Ingratitude* and *Treachery*, because People will be apt to call some Things to Mind, which you ought to wish forgotten, and endeavour to find out a Key for your late Writings.

Neither is it prudent in you to speak, with so much Indignation, of *betraying private Correspondencies*; for though the Persons, who once distinguish'd you by a peculiar Regard, had, I dare say, more Discretion than to trust you with any Secrets, in the greatest Height of their Partiality towards you; yet you have given us very plain Indications how ready you would have been to *betray private Correspondencies*, if it had tended to serve any laudable Purposes of the Court, or the Interests of *Those*, in whose Cause you are now so zealously embark'd.

I cannot however forbear admiring the Sagacity of your Patron, in chusing such a *Pupil* and *Advocate*. A Circulator of Tittle-Tattle, a Bearer of Tales, a Teller of Fibbs, a station'd Spy, even where you was admitted under the strongest Pretextes of Friendship, and under the strongest Obligations to it, is a Subject worthy of his Care, and must be capable of making great Advances in those Mysteries of political Magick, into which He hath initiated you.

Though I am an old Man, and no great Admirer of the modern Fashions; yet since you are pleas'd to tell us that it is the Mode to draw some Kind of Characters, and consider Persons rather than Things, I will, in Return, indulge my Fancy, for once, in framing such as may suit the Persons, who have the Honour of

Patronizing your *courtly Libels*; and be assured, Sir, that they shall be as free from *Flattery* as your own; though I shall not altogether follow the *modern Fashion*, which you have introduced. I will endeavour to to copy *Nature* and *Truth*. Let the World judge of the Likeness.

We will suppose then a Person of tolerable second-rate Parts; below a Genius; above the Vulgar; of Industry inferior to few; of Impudence superior to all Men. We will suppose him coming into the World with a low Education, mean Habits, and a narrow Fortune; an Adventurer resolved to rise by all the Ways, which Time and Accidents should open to him, In Parliament ever busy: at Court always assiduous; never caref'd by the greatest General, or the greatest Statesman of their Time; absolutely dislik'd by the first; and only thought to be of some little Use by the second; promoted by one, and just suffer'd by the other. Buoy'd up by the Stream of Party, and a long Series of lucky Accidents, both at home and abroad, this Child of Fortune rises to the first Post in the Government, with Talents scarce equal to the tenth, and Morals unworthy of the lowest. Even Guilt and Punishment prove Circumstances in his Favour. He proceeds accordingly. He corrupts, and is supported by the Corrupt. He plunders, and protects the Plunderers. The Wealth, the Strength and Honour of the Nation are made subservient to his Interest and the Interest of his Family. Vain of his Parts, indifferent as They are, and vainer of his Person, which is still infinitely worse, no Flattery is too gross for Him. A Writer, who would tell him of his Success in Amours, would gain his Favour in an higher Degree than one, who commended the Conduct of his Administration; and yet the whole World is convinced that He never gain'd either Man or Woman, but as he paid for Them. Let us view Him in another Light, making Differences in the greatest Families; first, reviling and endeavouring to distress a Father, to whom he had the greatest Obligations; then again, for his own Interest, selling and betraying the Son to the Father; valuing neither but as they serv'd his Purpose; ready to betray both, when He found it his Interest so to do. Let us survey him in the Course of a long Administration; giddy with Power; impatient of Controul, and insolent to Mankind; base to Those, who assisted him in Distress; ungrateful to Those, who were the Instruments of his Advancement; and treacherous to Those, who preserv'd Him from Disgrace. Let us behold Him playing the Statesman in foreign Courts, and endeavouring to pass off Twicking for Policy; making Treaties, without any Design to observe them; and negotiating his Country out of a State of perfect Tranquillity into a State of Difficulty, Danger and Dependence. — He cannot even assume the Merit of meaning well; nor plead the poor Excuse of having miscarried in the Conduct of a good Design.

Design. He and his Flatterers have been challeng'd, over and over, to produce a single Instance, of any great or good Action, for the national Interest, concerted and accomplish'd by him, during so long a Continuance in Power. The most sanguine of his Sycophants have not dar'd to take up the Gauntlet. He hath been mute. — As he rose by Party, he finds it necessary to support himself by Party; and endeavours to divert the general Hatred of the People from himself, by putting his *Master* upon Measures, which naturally tend to alienate their Affections.

We will suppose another Person, who introduces himself among his Betters by being a *Buffoon*; and is turn'd out of their Company for being saucy, ill-bred, noisy, scurrilous, obscene; the Jest and Scorn of Mankind! the Admiration of his *B——*; intrusted with Affairs of the greatest Importance; and proving himself, thro' a long Series of Business incapable of it; — intrusted again; — lying in the Face of his Country; — believed; — lying again; — detected; — and yet supported.

Let me suppose two such Persons, whom Sympathy of Nature, Proximity of Blood, and the predominant Principle of endeavouring to raise themselves upon the Ruin of their Country, had united in the strictest Friendship, Confidence and Intimacy; joint Ministers, and inseparable Colleagues in the Management of all Affairs. If These, and such as These, are to be Rulers of Nations; if such Characters are to be met with, the People of England will consider, whether These and such as These are the Men, in whose Hands They are willing to trust the Interest, the Honour and Glory of this Kingdom. But if no such Persons are in Being, this Description of Them is no more to the Purpose, than That which gave Occasion to it.

And now, *my Dear*, having paid this Regard to your *Dedication*, I shall look into the Body of this notable Treatise; in which perhaps you may have received some Assistance from your *Patron* himself, or that excellent Politician his *Brother*. I do not deny the whole to be your own Work; for there is nothing in the Matter or the Style of it, which you might not be able to produce; but I confess even the Bulk makes it a Point a little dubious; and *Forty-eight Pages*, even of such Stuff, seem a Toil almost too great for the flimsy Texture of so delicate a Brain. But however that may be; whether you compiled, or only dedicated the Piece; whether your *Patron* contributed some Strokes of that Rhetorick, which never persuades, and that *Pathos*, which never moves; or whether you discompos'd the Lillies and Roses of your Cheeks by a painful Collection of all those Common-place Reflections, which swell this elaborate Piece; it cannot be improper to continue my Address to you, who have taken his Cause under your
imme.

immediate Care, as he hath taken your Character and Conscience under his.

You set out, *Child*, with an Assertion, which is a flat Contradiction to the whole Tenor of your subsequent Libel; for you say, (p. 1.) that *no Plots at home, or Invasion from abroad seems to threaten us; and that the Spirit of Jacobitism seems to be dormant in private Corners, till a more proper Season offers to exert itself;* whereas there is scarce another Page in your whole Declamation, in which you do not charge the Authors and Patrons of the *Craftsman* with a Design of fomenting a Rebellion; overturning the present Establishment; bringing in the Pretender; and concerting another Revolution. Nay, in p. 35. you mention the Discovery of some secret Engagements, which these pretended Patriots have entered into with the Jacobites. You must have made this important Discovery, my Dear, since you wrote the first Page; because you acknowledge that you had no Apprehensions, at that Time, of any *Plots at home, or Invasions from abroad*. These secret Engagements, seem to be of the same Nature with those, which some sharp-sighted Persons spied out four or five Years ago; and perhaps they may be all be brought fully to Light at the same Time.

You tell us, that you have pass'd the greatest Part of the late Vacation in a Country Retirement, and been enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Liberty, by the Labours of the Busy and the Great. Lord, said a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, upon reading this Passage, what will this little Creature come out at last! a Courtier or a Country Gentleman; a Gamester or a Patriot; a Poet or a Pamphleteer; a Man or a Woman!

One would be apt to think indeed that a Person, who scribbles in this Manner, can know very little of what is stirring in the active Part of the World; and I am sure you did not pick up your Materials from the *Craftsman* and *Fog's Journal*, which you say you have constantly perus'd. I wish you would inform us what Part of the Country you chuse for your Retirement, where the People feel the Blessings of the present Conjunction in so sensible a Manner; for we hardly meet with any thing but Peace, Plenty, Liberty, and Prosperity in every Page of this exquisite Performance. I say, my Dear, I wish you would be so kind as to let us know in what *Halcyon* Part of this Island you have had the good Fortune to find so agreeable a Retirement, that your Fellow-Subjects may have the Pleasure of partaking the same Blessings, and joining in the same Congratulations. But supposing the Case to be as you state it, Peace abroad and Tranquillity at home; why should it be otherwise? Did not your Patron find the Nation in Peace? Does not every Englishman pay his Share, of annual Taxes, towards the Maintenance of 20,000 Men to secure Tranquillity at home; and hath he not already paid his Quota of five or six Millions for purchasing a Peace abroad,

abroad, even when we had Reason to imagine it settled after a prosperous War?——This Peace must certainly be a choice Commodity at last, since we have gone to so many different Markets to buy it.

I am ready, upon all Occasions, to own the *Goodness of the King*; but the *Lenity* which the *Craftsman* hath met with from the *Ministers* hath been frequent *Imprisonments*, *vexatious Prosecutions*, *expensive Trials*, *Seizures of his Goods*, and *Interruption of his Business*. It cannot therefore be thought at all wonderful that he thinks himself more obliged to the Justice of a *Jury*, than to the *Lenity* of your *Patron*; and you might as well have ascribed the *Lenity of the past Season* to him.

You seem, *little Master*, to be one of those *Patriots* whom you describe; exceedingly *temperate* in your Concern for your *Country*, and immoderately *zealous* in the Interest of your *Patron*. For my Part, I have no great Notion of those two lukewarm Virtues, which you are pleased to recommend: I mean *Calmness* under any *impending Danger* of your *Country*; and *Moderation* towards the *Authors* of it. These were *Virtues* unknown to the antient *Patrons of Greece and Rome*; who have, on some Occasions, sacrificed not only *private Friendships*, but even the *Sentiments of natural Affection* to the Love of their *Country*.

You are graciously pleased to declare that you will have so much *Charity* for the *most inveterate* of our modern *Incendiaries*, that you believe, at first setting out, They did not design to have run the *Lengths*, that *Time and Despair* have obliged them to do——Why this is mighty civilly done indeed! But what *Despair*, *Child*, do you mean? *Despair* of reforming your *Patron* or his *Measures*?——However, to shew you, *my Dear*, how grateful we are for such an *Obligation*, we will return your *Patron* the same *Compliment*, and charitably believe that he did not think of running such *Lengths*, at his first setting out; but being once embark'd, and having always had a natural Appetite of engrossing more Power than is consistent with a *Subject*, and amassing more Wealth than it was possible for him to accumulate by honest Methods, he found it necessary to go on from one *Degree of Iniquity* to another, for his own Support.

I will likewise compliment him with your *Nemo repente scuiturpissimus*; and the whole Paragraph, which is tacked to it, properly belongs to him. You seem surprized, *Master*, that any Men, whose Principles and Education proclaimed them to be Whiggs, and whose Actions for the first Part of their Lives, confirm'd that Opinion, could resolve at once to leave their former Friends, &c. There must be certainly some strong Cause for such an extraordinary Event; and I am ready to grant that either these *Gentlemen*, or Those, whom they have left, have abandon'd their former Principles; but I will venture to challenge your *Patron* to mark out one Passage, or to produce a single Instance of any Proposition,

in which the Authors of the *Craftsman* have deviated from the Principles of true *Whiggism*. On the contrary, I will undertake to prove that the *Maxims*, upon which your *Patron* hath been defended, strike at the Root of all *Liberty*, and are the Principles of *arbitrary Power*.

I will likewise defy you to make good another Assertion, which hath been often repeated, and to point out one Paragraph in which his *Majesty's Person* hath been treated with Disrespect. If the Characters of good and bad *Kings* have been exhibited, in the Course of Mr. *Oldcastle's* excellent Observations, it must be your own bad Heart, which applies the worst to his present Majesty. To affirm that we ought never to quote a *disagreeable Piece of History*, exceeds the Politeness of the *Court Parson*, who thought it the height of Rudeness to mention *Hell* or *Damnation* in the *King's Chapel*.

I will go farther, and put the Case even according to your own Supposition; that a Person, concerned for the Welfare of his *Prince*, and debarred from his Presence, should take the Liberty to send him some Advice in the Disguise of *History*, and even to mark with *Italicks* those Passages, where he imagin'd his Danger to be the greatest; does such a Proceeding deserve the Author's Epithet, Traiterous? No; the *Flatterer*, and not the *Plain dealer*, is the *Traitor*.

You seem very apprehensive *Pag. 7.* of being turned into Ridicule by the witty Reasoners of this Age, for representing the *pauitry Authors of a Two-penny Paper*, as Men of such Importance; that they are able to overturn the *Constitution* at Pleasure. Why really, *Master*, they do make a very considerable Figure in your Works, and seem to eclipse your *Patron* a little in his Negotiations with the Publick. But why will you have any Thing to do with these witty Reasoners, if you are afraid of being turn'd into Ridicule by them? Or why will such a nice Beau as you undertake the nauseous Task of raking into Dirt, and run the Hazard of being sullied your self? Prithce, leave off this new Trick of *political Defamation*; and if thou hast catched an Itch of scribbling, display thy Learning in the *Fairy Tales*, and publish Observations on Story Books. That is the only History fit for such a Writer to dabble in. What hast thou to do with Trade or Treaties, or Mr. *H—s*? Why should'st thou sully those pretty Figures with Ink? Methinks a Fan would become them much better than a *Pen*; but to draw thy *Gray-Goose-Quill* against either of those, whom thou hast chosen for thy Adversaries, is just as if a *Lilliputian* should offer to encounter a *Brobdingnagian* in single Combat.

In Page 11. you are more severe upon your own *Patron*, than you are scurrilous upon the *Patrons of the Craftsman*: for let the World judge whose Head the Cap fits best.—*An impudent Face must pass for the Evidence of an honest Heart*; a bold

bold Assertion supply the Want of Matter of Fact; and a saucy Repetition of the same Falshood be impos'd as an undoubted Proof of Veracity.——Lord! said I, what could Master mean, to kick down all his labour'd Panegyrick at once by such an injudicious Paragraph?——Indeed, my Dear, you must not indulge your Fancy in drawing such Characters, as much as it may be the modern Fashion.

You now propose to give us a few Instances of the several Heads abovementioned, as far as you can recollect, from this Load of Infamy and Scandal, not having any Collection by you.——What a Pity is it that you have not been able, after all the Pains you have taken, to get a compleat Set of the Craftsman from Coffee houses and Booksellers Shops. I think it was very uncivil in Mr. Francklin not to oblige you with a Collection, when you sent to him for it; but if you will have Patience for two or three Months longer, you may have as many Sets of this Load of Infamy and Scandal as you please, and be able to quote Chapter and Verse, from our political Geneses to the Revelations, without being oblig'd to your Jacobite Neighbour.

In the first Place you are very angry with us for complaining of the great Load of Taxes and Debts, which the Nation lies under; and tell us that These are one of the Inconveniencies, which no human Prudence can prevent. Your Reason seems to be, that if human Prudence could have prevented it, your Patron would certainly have done it; and who will have the Impudence to deny such Conclusions?—But alas! what hast thou to do with Taxes or Debts, which I dare say you understand as much as you feel? Those, whom you call the Patrons of the Craftsman, pay their Taxes out of large Estates; and even the Craftsman Himself contributes near a thousand Pounds a Year out of his Labours for the Publick, to his Majesty's Revenue. But which Way can'st Thou pretend to have ever paid any Taxes, unless it be out of a Pension, or a Salary?

The Preservation of our Religion and Liberties is always made the Pretence and Excuse for these Debts; and because it once made the incurring of a large Debt really necessary, is therefore trump't up to serve every dirty Job of a Minister. Our Religion and Liberties are certainly very valuable Blessings. I am as ready to contribute, and willing to venture as far as any Man for the Support of both; but Those, who bring either of them in Danger, are answerable for the Expences, which those Dangers occasion. I hope the letting in the Light of the Gospel will not be a perpetual Window-Tax upon the Nation; and that We shall not always continue to pay Fees for our Liberties, as the Prisoners in the Fleet do for a Day-Rule.

If the Authors of the Craftsman complain that the national Debts are not diminished during a continued Peace for eighteen Years, are they therefore unreasonable Men? Or, if they affirm

that They are *increased*, when the Case is evidently so, are They bad Arithmeticians.

You wonder, my Dear, how this Charge can be supported. My Wonder is quite different; for I think the Charge much more easily supported than the Taxes, without any Reflection on the glorious Memory of King William. Nobody is more ready than my self to acknowledge the Obligations We lie under to that immortal Prince for our *Delivery from Popery and Slavery*; but at present, I think, We stand very much in Need of a wise and frugal Minister to deliver us from the Burthen of Debts and Taxes.

Here you take Notice of a Libel (as you call it) intituled *a State of the National Debt*, with the odious List of Taxes made perpetual &c. at the Tail of it; and tell us that the Falsity of this Libel hath been notoriously made appear, upon an accidental Occurrence in the House of Commons, soon after the Publication of it.——This is an arrant Fib, Master; and I believe your Patron will not think Himself obliged to you for reviving the Memory of an Affair, in which He received such a memorable Defeat from a Gentleman, who never valued Himself upon any extraordinary Skill in Accounts; but by a little Application and a common Capacity, He unravel'd all this labour'd Mystery and discomfited the pretended Goliath at his own Weapons. You cannot forget, my Dear, in what an insolent, ostentatious Manner your Patron behaved at first, in this Debate, as if Nobody understood any Thing of the Matter but Himself; and how He hung his Head, when he found Himself obliged to confess his Ignorance before the whole House, and to stand corrected in many Particulars, by his Adversary, whom he had thus arrogantly defy'd. The Gentleman took no great Glory to Himself from this Victory, but ingeniously declar'd, that any Body might easily make himself Master of this Subject, as dark and intricate as it seem'd to be, and as your Patron endeavour'd to make it, by only reading over three or four Acts of Parliament, Mr. Hutcheson's *State of the Debts*, and a few other Pamphlets. But this was a terrible Overthrow to your Patron, as it discover'd his Nakedness in the single Branch of his Administration, in which He was ever supposed to have more than ordinary Capacities; and the Managers of the great Companies, who might have been possess'd with a Notion of his Abilities in this Particular, must be now convinced of their Error, and that He is far from being the only Man (on many Accounts not the fittest Man) to whose Hands their Properties may be safely committed.

This was demonstrated in a * Pamphlet, publish'd soon after; in which the whole Controversy is stated at large, and no

* Considerations on the National Debts, the sinking Fund, and the State of publick Credit, &c.

Answer to it was ever attempted; which is the Reason, I presume, that you did not mention *this Libel* as well as the *other*.

You allow the *Losses*, *sustain'd* by our Merchants in the *West Indies*, to be a real Misfortune; a Misfortune to be lamented, complain'd of (by every body, except the Craftsman) and, if possible, to be redress'd.

Is then the *Reparation*, stipulated to our Merchants, become a Point of bare Possibility only, after all their Trouble and Expences, as well as the Assurances, which were given them of Satisfaction? For God's sake, my Dear, don't blab out such unwelcome Secrets, but keep up their Spirits with Hopes for some Time longer, lest They should grow impatient, and teaze your Patron with fresh Representations. Don't offer to say that *our real Losses* are not sufficient to raise such a Clamour of Themselves; because such an Insult upon the unhappy Sufferers may provoke Them to lay their Case before the Parliament, and to prove, as I am afraid it is easy to do, that the Losses of this Nation, by our late Rupture with Spain, are much greater than they have been yet represented.

Satisfaction to the Merchants (says our pretty Master) is the least Thing They were anxious for. That would put an End to Clamour and Discontent; and their only Hope, at present, is a Failure in the punctual Observation of the Articles for this Purpose.

Here's another Blab now! What Occasion had you, Child, to talk of Failures? You should always insist upon positive Assurances, as your Patron hath done for many Years together, and make a bold Assertion supply the Want of Matter of Fact. But if Reparation to our Merchants would put an End to Clamour and Discontent; prithee, advise thy Patron to make Them easy in this Respect, and give these wicked Incendiaries a finishing Blow. That would be a Triumph indeed! and serve as well as Mr. Osborne's Thunder-Clap.

The Loss of every Ship, says the young Gentleman, is a national Concern; and, as such, it appears it was considered in our late Treaty with Spain. But it likewise appears that We have hitherto had no Reparation; though the Merchants have taken all the becoming Methods recommended by this Master of political Ceremonies. They represented their Grievances to the Minister. They petition'd the Parliament, and sometimes complain'd of their Case in Letters to the Craftsman. This is called aggravating their Misfortune, and making it an Handle for Clamour. Such a modest Exhortation to Men under Misfortunes not to complain or cry out, is just in the Style of the Butcher to his Hog, which He was carrying to Slaughter; D—n Thee for a noisy, grunting Beast, can't you lie still and be quiet, like that Sheep yonder?

Master, goes on thus. These are the only real Inconveniencies, or Misfortunes, that I can recollect, as charged to the Account of the present Ministers, since the Hanover Succession took Place. Say'st Thou so, my Dear? What a sad Thing it is to have a bad

Memory? Did'st Thou never read any Thing about *large, standing Armies in Times of Peace; unnatural Allyances; destructive Expeditions abroad, and merry-making Armada's at home; impracticable Treaties; dishonourable Expedients; Hessian Troops; Irish Recruits; Gibraltar; the Reparation of Dunkirk; Indignities offer'd to the British Flag; or the Affair of Santa Lucia?* ——— Prithee, rub up thy Memory a little, and recollect whether you never heard of a certain Contract with the BANK (the most iniquitous Part of the *South-Sea Scheme!*) which, though drawn up by your Patron's own Hand, and made with the utmost Solemnity, He did not scruple to declare null and void, after He had made his own Advanage of it, though to the Ruin of Thousands of Families? ——— Did'st thou never hear of the same Person's buying up great Quantities of *Army Debentures* at a very high Discount (perhaps most of them with the *publick Money* too) and when he was possessed of them, providing an Interest for them, with a Retrospect for several Years; nay, what is still more extraordinary, *chusing Them out of all the Debts of the Publick to be first paid off, though They originally had no Fund appropriated for the Payment of the Principal or Interest?* ——— See! what it is not to have a Collection of that *Load of Infamy and Scandal*, in which such Things are mention'd!

You seem to think yourself very witty in supposing that the late Rebellion will not be brought to his Account; and yet, as arch as you are, I think you had much better have said nothing about it; for though it may not, perhaps, be brought to his Account; yet it is well known, that He found his Account in it.

But now comes the Conclusion from these Premisses ——— From these Inconveniences therefore, fewer, and less considerable than ever attended this Nation for so long a Series of Time as since his late Majesty's Accession, it appeared difficult, it hath proved vain to attempt the Destruction of the Ministers. ——— Well said, Master, upon my Word! you now begin to understand your Lesson, and promise to make a great Man in Time. ——— This Nation was never attended with fewer or less considerable Inconveniences! ——— Excellently asserted! There is some Spirit in This. I defy your Patron himself to make a rounder Assertion, when He next rises up in Defence of his late Measures.

After This, you break out into the usual Strain of Exultation upon the *Felicity of the Times* ——— I can hardly determine which of the Two is most ridiculous; a pert, little Creature talking in this shameless Manner; or a Man that gravely sits down to answer so many confident Affirmations without the least Proof, or any Regard to the Rep'ies, which have been made to them over and over again ——— Peace, Plenty, and Tranquillity, Increase of Riches, flourishing State of Trade and publick Credit, are only so many Words in your Patron's political Breviary, which his Creatures are oblig'd to repeat, like a Bead-Roll, upon all Occasions.

casions. It puts me in mind of a profligate Priest singing a *Requiem* over a poor, miserable, departing Sinner.

You are so modest, indeed, when you speak of our *flourishing Trade*, as to add this Restriction, *except with some small Interruption*. You might have added likewise, *some moderate Seizures, and inconsiderable Depredations*.

I cannot recollect, *my Dear*, that I have ever wrote any thing against the Interest of the *Bank*, the *South-Sea Company*, or the *India Company*, as They were *just and fair Creditors of the Publick*. It is the Business of every honest Man to do what is in his Power to support their Credit. But as *Monopolies and exclusive Corporations*, indeed, I have always thought them dangerous Tools in the Hands of a *Minister*. I have constantly declared against any *Jobb* done for any of them. I have likewise always been against any *clandestine Trade*; which is not only injurious to the *Proprietors*, but often prejudicial to the Nation, as it gives *those Powers*, with whom this *private Trade* is carry'd on, a plausible Pretence for quarrelling with us, whenever their Interest or Resentment prompts them to it. I suppose, *Master*, This is what you mean by saying that I have written against the several *great Companies*.

You go on in the same masterly Stile.——— *This cavilling about foreign Politicks, and these unavoidable Inconveniencies have not inflamed the People to call out for a Change of Government*———

What do you mean by a *Change of Government, my Dear*? If you mean a Change of the *Constitution*, I agree with you. The People have not call'd out for a Change of the *Constitution*; nor do They seem to be in a Disposition to submit to it, if your *Patron* should attempt it. They call out very loudly for the Preservation of it. But if you mean the *Change of the Ministry*, I must confess that I think the People have discover'd some small Inclination that way, though without Success. They seem to call out for *new Ministers*, as *Owen Glendower* call'd *Spirits from the Dead*. They will not always come when He calls.

I hope, *Master*, that you was well inform'd, when you assured us that the *Design of restraining the Press* lives not but in our own Brains. I hope the Government is not so weak as to stand in need of so extraordinary a Remedy.——— But here you seem to forget yourself again; for about 14 Pages after this gracious Declaration, you express your Concern, in a very pathetick Manner, that our excellent Laws should prove a Sanctuary for these artful Revilers and hypocritical Dispersers of Treason; and, in another Place, you say that They ought to be punish'd, instead of despis'd.——— Why so, *my Dear*, if your own Observation is just (and I think it by far the best in your whole Book) that it is not the Accusation, but the Truth of it, which gives the Wound; and an innocent Man feels no more pain from the publishing a false Slander, than the Slanderer gains Credit by inventing the Falshood.——— I say, if This be true, and your Patron is

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an innocent Man, what Occasion is there for Punishment? or why need you feel any Concern, Child, that our excellent Laws should prove a Sanctuary to these artful Revilers? ——— But are you sure, Master, that such a Design never liv'd in any other Brains besides ours? Have no Attempts been made to this Purpose? Were no Persons ever sounded upon it, or even solicited to come into it? ——— Have a Care, my Dear, how you take upon you to asseverate too strongly upon this Head, lest you should be openly convicted of Falshood, and it should appear that your Patron us'd his utmost Endeavours to accomplish this Design; but meeting with the Repulse, which He deserv'd, was oblig'd to lay it aside, and affected the outward Appearance of being a Friend to *that Liberty*, which He had secretly attempted to suppress.

But nothing, surely, can be more ridiculous than your Complaints of *scurrilous Language*, *Billingsgate*, and *calling Names*: for (to use your own Words) I could undertake to produce more *scurrilous Language*, more private Scandal, and more ungentlemanlike Abuse out of the Libels against the supposed Authors and Patrons of the Craftsman, for these four Tears past, than can possibly be shewn in all the polemical Writings of any Reign whatsoever. ——— *Rogue*, *Rascal*, *Liar*, *Scoundrel*, *Traytor*, and *Villain*, are the principal Flowers of your Rhetorick, and the Foundation of all your Arguments. Prithee, Child, talk no more of *Scurrility*, whilst your own Writings discover such a cordial Union and Alliance between *Billingsgate* and *St. J* ———'s

You have display'd your Ignorance and Indiscretion in another Passage, relating to your Patron; where you suppose the Terms *avaricious* and *expensive*, *enterprizing* and *cowardly*, *bold* and *fearful*, *ignorant* and *cunning*, to be inconsistent and contradictory Epithets.

If you had ever read *Salust*, Master, you would have found this Description of *Cataline*; *alieni appetens*; *sui profusus*; that is, *greedy of other People's Money*, and *a Squanderer of his own*. *Tacitus* calls a *bad Minister* (I think it is *Sejanus*) *Rapti Largitor*; which may be translated a *plundering Spendthrift*. Nay, *Rapine* and *Profusion* are so far from being inconsistent, that there is an immediate Connection between them. *Extravagance* and *Distress* naturally inspire *Avarice*, as *Avarice* renders *Corruption* familiar and necessary ——— I could mention a *Statesman* (or rather a *Minister*) of this Kind, whose *Extravagance* made Him so *necessitous*, when he came into Power, and his *Necessities* so *corrupt*, that he made no Scruple to pay off all his *Tradesmen* their long *Arrears* by *Employments* under the Government.

In the same Manner a Man may be *enterprizing* and *cowardly*, *bold* and *fearful*; like the *Bully* you describe; who *flourishes his Sword at the Corner of every Street*, and yet perhaps will take a *Kick* or a *Box on the Ear*, very patiently, from a Man of true *Honour* and *Courage*.

Ignorance

Ignorance and Cunning are equally consistent in the same Character; unless you will suppose, in Contradiction to publick Notoriety, that it is impossible for a Man to be totally ignorant of political Affairs, who hath proved Himself cunning enough to raise an exorbitant Estate by *Bribery, Corruption and Stock-jobbing*.

The two Epithets, which seem to give your Patron's Stomach most Offence, are *corrupt and blundering*; and therefore our pretty, little Scribbler thinks them deserving a more particular Regard—We must attend upon Master in this Disquisition.

I wish, young Gentleman, that I could, with tolerable Decency, return your Patron the Compliment, which you have been pleas'd to bestow upon mine, in the following Words. *It will be readily granted, that amongst Those, who wish the Destruction of the Ministers, nay, and have vow'd it too, there are not wanting Men of great Parts, vers'd in the Ways of Business, acquainted with Courts, and not ignorant of Mankind*——What a Pity is it, I say, that I cannot apply any of these great Qualities to your Patron, without incurring the Imputation of *gross Flattery*, which is as nauseous to Me, as it is agreeable to Him!

The Vow, said to have been made, for the Destruction of a Minister, is trump't up and exaggerated upon all Occasions, though it hath been already explain'd, and shewn not to be of so bloody a Nature, as the Friends of the Minister, from their own direful Apprehensions, have represented it.——What an unpardonable Piece of *Inhumanity* is it for any Gentleman to attempt the Ruin of a Minister, in his ministerial Capacity, when He is reduced to the Alternative of giving up the Minister or his Country? A Man, who prefers the Safety of his Country to the filling of his Pockets now a-days becomes the Object of Wonder and Ridicule; an old-fashion'd Fellow with *Cravat-Strings and Pantaloon Breeches*.

But the most surprizing Charge of all is our Accusation of *Corruption*, and not attempting the Proof of it in the present Situation of the Minister; but you seem, pretty Sir, to take the Word *Corruption*, in a limited Sense, and confine it to the Corrupter—Give me Leave to illustrate This by a parallel Case—There is a certain, unnatural, reigning Vice (indecent and almost shocking to mention) which hath, of late, been severely punish'd in a neighbouring Nation. It is well known that there must be two Parties in this Crime; the *Pathick* and the *Agent*; both equally guilty. I need not explain These any farther. The Proof of the Crime hath been generally made by the *Pathick*; but I believe that Evidence will not be obtained quite so easily in the Case of *Corruption*, when a Man enjoys every Moment the Fruits of his Guilt.

What follows, Page 23, is the familiar and customary Interposition of the sacred Character of Majesty to screen the Minister; a pitiful sculking behind the Throne, so often exposed
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and without any Answer, that I shall take no farther Notice of it.

The next high Crime and Misdemeanour charged upon us by the *dapper little Author*, is calling his Patron a *Blunderer*. It is somewhat strange, *my Dear*, that you should find Fault with the softest Word that can be given, supposing the Case to be as We put it; for *Male-Administration* must be either *Blundering* or *Treachery*; a Fault in the *Heart*, or in the *Understanding*. For my Part, I think *blundering* the most charitable, kind and even friendly Epithet in this Case; for what must We call Him otherwise; or why should it offend Him, if He does not deserve it? *Queen Elizabeth's Fool*, who was whipt for calling a simple Courtier *Brother*, had Sense enough to know that if he had call'd Lord *Burleigh* so, it would have given no Offence.

But it seems a certain Patron of the *Craftsman* does not consider how far his own Reputation suffers for having been the FOLLOWER of a Fool; fighting under his BANNERS, and endeavouring to persuade the World that He is able to instruct his MASTER.——What canst Thou mean, *Chis*, by all this Stuff? I don't understand what Right your Patron had, from any Circumstances of *Character*, *Fortune*, or *Abilities*, to erect his Standard in a joint-Administration, and to command others to follow Him as their Master. We are very sensible indeed that He had always a Spirit of *Domination* in him; but why should *Those*, who never wanted his Assistance, be obliged to submit to his Authority?

How far the Principles of Honour may engage some Men not to blast the Reputation of others, with whom They have lived in Friendship, you will not determine.——Pray, Master, read this Paragraph over again, and weigh it well. Think what Reflections may be made upon it, when the World shall come to compare this Sentence and your Conduct together. Will it not be natural to ask if you never had any particular and very great Obligations to a certain Person? Was you not taken into his House like one of his own Family? Did He not in every Thing shew a Disposition, perhaps more, to serve you? Did He not almost singly support your Character, when the little Finicalness of your Person had made you the Joke and Contempt of Mankind? Might not This be carried still farther?—Here therefore I will stop;——Only thus much may be said—This former Patron of yours was, at least, the remote Cause of your obtaining the very Employment you now enjoy; and your present Patron, as destitute as He is of Friends, would have thought you too insignificant an Acquisition to have been purchas'd at so high a Price, if it had not been for the Additional Satisfaction of having purloin'd you from his next Door Neighbour.

Your

Your next judicious Charge against Mr. D'Anvers is, that He hath complain'd of *Corruption in Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*. This is, no doubt, a most impudent and groundless Charge; and I hope the Reader will resent the Frivolousness of the Complaint. But it unluckily happens that the *Electors of Great-Britain* have received a small Rebuke, of the same Nature, from their *Representatives*, as well as Mr. D'Anvers; for I think the late *Act against Corruption in Elections* is almost as unmannerly as the Writings of the *Craftsman*.

Having call'd upon the *collective Body of the People*, the *three great Companies*, and (what is more than all) your own *Patron* to avenge Themselves upon this *Craftsman*, with no better Success than the *Craftsman* and the *People* have call'd for a *Change of the Ministry*; you call, at last, very loudly upon both *Houses of Parliament* to destroy Him without any Ceremony. His Crime towards these *august Bodies* is, that He hath somewhere said that They ought to be as independent of the *Crown* as possible; and that it is dangerous to the *Liberty of Parliament* to let too many of the *Members* accept of *Places at Court*.—How base, says little Master, is this Maxim? How false is the Conclusion? Is our *Commonwealth* so form'd, that the *Service of the King and of the People* is inconsistent? Yet as base as this Maxim may seem in your Eyes, it hath been the Maxim of some of the wisest Men of *England*; particularly of your own *Patron*; who declared, about *twelve Years* ago, that the *King's Service* was a *Burthen too great for any Man of Honour to bear*; that is, *inconsistent with the Service of the People*. But let us turn this Proposition to the other Side; and ask our little Gentleman, whether the *Service of the King and of the People* is so inconsistent, that a *Country Gentleman* cannot perform both at the same Time? that when He is return'd as a *Representative of his Country*, it is absolutely necessary to engage Him by some Reward to serve his *King*. Is the *Crown* to suspect a *Country Gentleman*, with a good Estate, of any Design to disturb and overturn the Government, in which He hath so great a Stake? Ought we not to suppose that his Zeal and Concern for the joint Interest of *King and People*, as well as his Weight and Credit, will be proportionably greater than That of a little, dirty Fellow in an Office? Is it not natural for the *People* to judge *Subsidies* more necessary, when they are raised by *Representatives*, who put none of them into their own Pockets, than by such as are reimburs'd? and is it not more honourable for the *Crown* to receive them at *such Hands*?

No less unfortunate is thy Reasoning, my Dear, in the following Part of the same Paragraph, where you tax *Those* with *Self-interestedness*, who abandon'd their *Places*, in order to vindicate *Those*, who kept them. I believe, I may venture to say that some of them might have held their Employments still

upon the same slavish Terms, which you propose. Methinks, *quitting a Place* is an odd Mark of an *interested View*; and your *Patron* formerly reason'd in the same Manner, when the same Aspersions were cast upon Him for resigning his Employments; but We are not to expect Consistency either in *You* or *Him*. I must however congratulate Him on being blest'd with the concurring Services of so many *worthy Patriots*, who discover none of these *selfish Views* by *quitting their Places*.

For my Part, I really and on my Conscience believe that the Charge of endeavouring to get into Employment by *Opposition* was never more groundless than at present. I believe no body is very ambitious of getting up to the Top of a *falling House*; and such, *my Dear*, I take your *Patron's* System of Affairs to be at present.

You go on fibbing most abominably in the two next Pages; where you charge us with abusing the *Judges* and the Bench of *Bishops*. Let me beg of you, my *dear little Trifler*, to quote the Paper, where We call the great Oracles of the Law a *Pack of Judges*. I can recollect no such Expression; but am ready to produce many Passages, where We have express'd the utmost Respect for those learned and venerable Sages, without leaving the least Room to suspect us of *Irony* or *Ridicule*. In one Place, particularly, We acknowledge that the Bench was never fill'd with more able and upright *Men* than it is at present; and I am sure no Body can be more sincerely pleas'd than my self, to see that excellent *Person*, who hath long presided in one of our *Courts of Justice* with the greatest Ability and Integrity, distinguish'd by those Honours, to which his Merit hath so justly intitled Him.

As to the Right Reverend my Lords, the *Bishops*, I hope their Reputation does not stand in need of such *childish Panegyrics*; and I will leave Mankind to judge, whether it is not the greatest Reflection on that venerable Bench to suppose Them capable of being turn'd into Ridicule, on Account of their *Piety* or *Learning*.

Another Falshood, which you have broach'd in the same Paragraph is, that We have recommended *Affassination of Ministers*; which is so directly contrary to Truth, that We have express'd our Abhorrence of it in that very Paper, I think, to which you allude; and shew'd the ill Consequences of it to the Publick, as it defrauds them of a just Example of Punishment to deter *future Criminals*, and sinks the Memory of a wicked Man's Guilt in Compassion for the Manner of his Death—— But how can We expect *Truth* in the Defence of a *Cause*, which subsists upon *Falshood*?

As your Engagements oblige you to stick at nothing, so you are not ashamed to charge us with having *insulted and calumniated the best of Queens*. We could likewise prove the Falshood of

of this Assertion, and produce several Instances from our Writings, in which We offer'd our just Tribute of Praise upon her Majesty's first Accession to the Throne; but herein, *Master*, lies the Difference between us. You seem to think that a continual Re-iteration of the same *trite Topicks of Panegyrick* may be of Advantage to your *Fortune*. We apprehend, on the contrary, that always dwelling upon the same Compliments, which grow nauseous, and degenerate into the meanest Flattery by Repetition, is highly disadvantageous to her Character; and We leave the World to judge who set her Majesty in the fairest Light; They who act as if she despises such little Artifices; or They, who represent Her in their Writings as one, weak enough to be caught by such low Adulation——Thus are you, Sir, constantly employing your pretty Parts to deck out and adorn the Throne; but can't you moderate the Lust of *Antithesis* in your Panegyrick upon Majesty; or do you think it any Compliment to a great *Queen* to swell up the Inventory of her Royal Virtues by Deductions from the Merit of a poor *weekly Writer*; for This, *my Dear*, is the Sum of your Encomium——Who is the goodliest Woman? The *Queen*.——Who is the wickedest Man? The *Craftsman*.——Who is the best of Protestants? The *Queen*.——Who is a *Jacobite* in his Heart, and endeavours to bring in *Papery* and the *Presbyter*? The *Craftsman*.——Who is the best of *Wives*, and takes Care of her numerous Family? The *Queen*.——Who is a *Cannibal*, and would devour his own Children? The *Craftsman*.——Her Majesty is highly oblig'd to such *coarse Daubers*; and great Honour, no doubt, must redound to Her by such an Opposition of Characters——But when you sit down again to draw such Pictures, let me advise you to follow the Example of your judicious Fellow-Labourer, Mr. *Francis Walsingham*, who celebrates Sir *George Briton's* Lady for her *Parsimony*, and laying up as much as she can, to provide for her younger Children——This is a just Topick of Praise, as it tends to make her beloved amongst her *Tenants*, and is therefore worthy of your Imitation.

You have acquainted us with one great Secret; that the Publick sees through our Design, and will not be imposed upon any longer——To what Purpose then are all these Pains, these Prosecutions, and the Profusion of Expence amongst a Parcel of poor Scribes to refute an Author, who hath lost all Credit, and whom every Body despises?——A *Writer* is like a publick Orator in a free Government. He is but the Mouth of the People, and if He does not speak their Sense, his Oratory will have no manner of Effect. What can an *Incendiary* do, where there is no combustible Matter? The greatest Security of your *Patron* against these *Incendiaries* consists in the hardness of his Metal. A *Squib*, or a *Fire-Ball* cannot melt down *Brass*; and He hath that *muris aeneus*, that *Brazen-Wall*, not of *Innocence* indeed, but

but of *Assurance*, to protect Him. *Pamphlets* against a good and a wise Minister are but *Paper-Bullets*. A Writer must find Grievances. He cannot make them; and We may very properly apply what Tully somewhere says to ourselves,—*Neque mihi videtur hac multitudo, qua ad audiendum convenit, cognoscere ex ea Me Causam voluisse, sed ea qua scit mecum recognoscere.*

If *Obloquy* and *Slander* are the *Fines*, which the Minister pays for a long Series of *Favour* and *Prosperity* (I suppose you mean his own *Prosperity*, not the Nation's) I think your Patron pays a very small *Quit-Rent*; as the *Italian Wit* said to the *Emperor*, too little Money for so much Folly. How much cheaper does He come off than the Earl of *Strafford*, his great *Prototype*, according to the judicious Parallel of one of his Flatterers? For my Part, I think his *Fine* is so far from being high, that it is quite a *Pennyworth*; instead of an *Impeachment*, a weekly *Admonition*, at the Rate of Two-pence every *Saturday*, and paid for by the good People of *England*. Why should he be so angry with his *Benefactors*? The Authors of the *Craftsman* have often set him right, and constantly walk after Him with a *Sponge* and a *Rubbing-Brush* to wash out the Spots, which he daily contracts. — What he hath done right hath been intirely owing to these Gentlemen, whom He abuses.

And now, *Master*, I have done with you for the present; and I hope for ever; for, to tell you the Truth, I am not only tired with this *Manner* of writing, which you have made necessary; but grow also ashamed of continuing any Contest with you. No good *Tennis-player* cares to go into a *Court* with a Child, that hath scarce Strength to hold a *Racket*, and cannot pretend to return the *Ball*. But if your Patron will write himself, or pay some better Pen for doing it, He may always depend on my having so much Complaisance as to make Him, what I hope the World will esteem This to be, a PROPER REPLY.

To conclude——Whether you wrote the Whole of this abusive Libel, or not, your *Observations* and *Sequel* deserve this Treatment from one, who never design'd you any Harm till you fell on others, in so outrageous a Manner; and if you should think fit to disown this Piece; yet the Usage, which other Gentlemen have frequently met with, as the Authors of Papers, which They never saw, before They were published, must apologize for this Application to you from,

S I R,

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Your Humble Servant,

Gray's-Inn, Jan.

20. 1730-1.

Cal. D'Anvers.